

Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

USIA-15 RSR-01 IO-13 CU-04 NIC-01 AID-20 COME-00

EB-11 FRB-02 TRSE-00 XMB-07 OPIC-12 CIEP-02 LAB-06

SIL-01 OMB-01 /189 W

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R 310844Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6425

INFO USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMCOSNUL HONG KONG

CINCPAC

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 11225

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CH, JA, US

SUBJECT: CCP TENTH PARTY CONGRESS: GOJ ASSESSMENT

1. SUMMARY: GOJ REACTED FAVORABLY TO RESULTS OF CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY TENTH CONGRESS AS STABILIZATION OF MAO-CHOU LEADERSHIP AND INDICATION OF PARTY APPROVAL OF RECENT PRC DIPLOMATIC MOVES. JAPANESE IMPRESSED WITH RISE OF YOUTH IN CCP POWER STRUCTURE. END SUMMARY.

2. GOJ (AND JAPANESE PRESS) REACTED FAVORABLY TO CCP'S TENTH CONGRESS' RESULTS AS STABILIZATION OF PRC UNDER MAO-CHOU LEADERSHIP AND ENDORSEMENT OF MODERATE, PRAGMATIC POLICIES OF CHOU EN-LAI.

3. FONOFF CHINA EXPERTS (CHINA DIV DEP HEAD OGURA AND ANALYSIS DIV MINE) GAVE EMBASSY FOLLOWING ASSESSMENT.

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OGURA DESCRIBED CCP LEADERSHIP AS CAREFUL BALANCE OF

BUREAUCRATS, MILITARY, OLD AND YOUNG CADRES, LEFT WING PRAGMATISTS, A FIRM DEMONSTRATION OF UNITY. ON SURFACE, CHOU EN-LAI IS FIRST AMONG FIVE VICE CHAIRMEN OF PRESIDUM BUT IN REALITY CONFIRMED CHOU'S LEADERSHIP AND ENDORSED HIS POLICIES. VARIED TOP LEADERSHIP WILL ALLOW MANEUVERING IN FUTURE DECISIONS WITHIN PARTY.

4. FONOFF EXPERTS EXPRESSED BELIEF THAT CONGRESS APPROVED RECENT PRC DIPLOMATIC POLICIES, CHINA'S ENTRY IN UN, NORMALIZATION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH JAPAN AND RAPPROCHEMENT WITH US. EXPERTS REGARD INCLUSION OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS FIGURES, SUCH AS FONMIN CHI PENG-FEI, VICE FONMIN CHIAO KUAN-HUA, AND UN AMB. HUANG HUA, AS CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS, AS FURTHER EVIDENCE OF SUPPORT OF RECENT PRC FOREIGN POLICY MOVES. THEY NOTE THAT HOLDING CONGRESS WHILE RELATIONS WITH USSR ARE DETERIORATING AND POINTED REMARKS ABOUT SOVIET UNION IN COMMUNIQUE PROMISE LITTLE IMPROVEMENT IN SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS IN NEAR FUTURE.

5. GOJ (AND PRESS) IMPRESSED WITH RISE OF YOUTH WITH CULTURAL REVOLUTIONARY BACKGROUND INTO UPPER ECHELONS OF CCP LEADERSHIP. THEY EXPRESS SURPRISE OVER WANG HUNG-WEN'S METEORIC RISE. FONOFF REGARDS WANG'S AND CHANGE CHUN-CHIAO'S STRONG POSITIONS AS EFFORT TO BOLSTER AGING INNER LEADERSHIP WITH YOUTHFUL FIGURES WHICH HAVE STRONG IDENTITY WITH MAO'S CULTURAL REVOLUTION. FONOFF EXPECTS WANG AND CHANG TO HAVE SIGNIFICANT ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITIES IN CONCERT WITH CHOU.

6. IN ADDITION TO NOTING LIN PIAO'S AND CHEN PO-TA'S DENUNCIATION, FONOFF COMMENTED ON RELATIVE DEMOTION OF CHIANG CHING AND HER PROTEGE, YAO WEN-YUAN. SHIFTING POSITION OF CHIANG CHING AND YAO ON ONE HAND AND RISE OF WANG AND CHANG ON OTHER REGARDED AS FURTHER EVIDENCE OF CHOU EN-LAI'S FINE HAND.

7. OGURA FOOTNOTED THAT WHILE CCP LEADERSHIP CONFIRMED BY CONGRESS, QUESTION OF FALLEN GENERALS AND MILITARY GENERALLY STILL NOT RESOLVED. EXPRESSIONS OF OPTIMISM HERE
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OVER FUTURE OF PRC-JAPAN RELATIONSHIP ALSO TEMPERED BY SEVERAL FONOFF EXPERTS' COMMENT THAT JAPAN'S RELATIONSHIP WITH PRC IS STILL FRAGILE AND MUST BE DEVELOPED THROUGH ASSIDUOUS ATTENTION AND CULTIVATION.

8. COMMENT: JAPANESE RELIEVED THAT PARTY CONGRESS SEEMS TO HAVE CONFIRMED RELATIVELY FAVORABLE DIRECTION FOR JAPAN IN PRC POLICIES. PLEASURE COMPOUNDED IN

GOJ BY PROGRESS, AFTER A YEAR, IN NEGOTIATING
JAPAN-PRC TRADE AGREEMENT, WHICH THEY HOPE WILL BE
FOLLOWED BY OTHER BI-LATERAL AGREEMENTS.
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